THE INTERNATIONAL

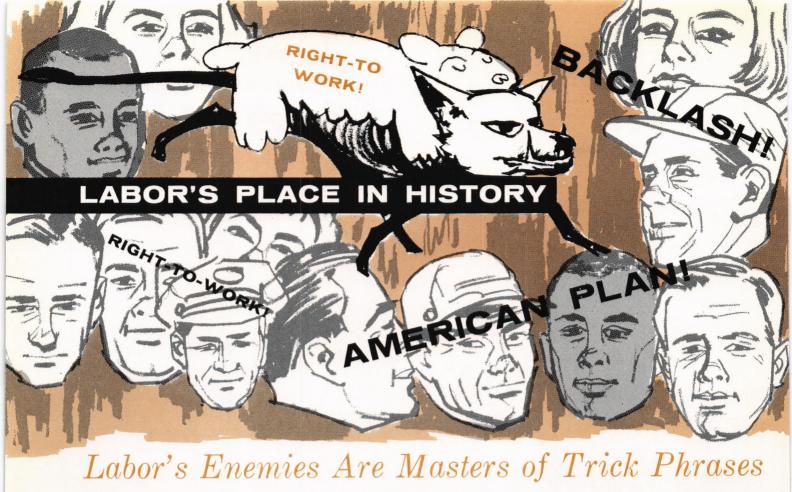
PORTUGE

DEDICATED TO SERVICE

OCTOBER, 1964



Teamsters Are Zoo Keepers in San Diego . . . See page 16



Historically, labor's enemies have been masters at pitting worker against worker by propagandizing with trick phrases and deceitful words.

Best known hoax of all is the so-called "right-to-work" phrase which uses lamb's clothing in which to dress the anti-labor wolf which feeds on union security.

As all union men know, the anti-labor, anti-union shop movement has been called many things. Once it was known as the American Plan. Enemies of union security have used many trick words in their attempt to destroy the union shop by pitting worker against worker, worker against farmer, and states against federal labor law.

Now comes the meanest of all inventions to put workers at one another's throats.

It is the so-called "white backlash."

As the Negroes' struggle for freedom makes progress, White workers are tricked into thinking any Negro advance will be at the White worker's expense.

Those who trade on misery and profit from workers' disunity fondly hope White workers will vote in November to punish politicians who voted for the Civil Rights Law.

Trying to inflame workers against civil rights advances, the "backlashers" are breeding the false rumor that the Civil Rights Act will require White workers to give up their jobs to Negroes.

Instead, the law declares "it shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employer to fail or refuse to hire or to discharge any individual, or otherwise to discriminate against any individual with respect to his compensation, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin."

In plain talk, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is designed to protect the rights of every American and not to give a special privilege to the few.

Anyone who represents the law otherwise is engaged in the age-old practice of using trick words to put worker against worker.

Teamsters learned long ago to check religious differences at the door of the union hall. Division based on race, too, can only serve to tear a union apart and help the union busters.

Another lesson learned over the years is that anti-labor politicians traditionally are race-baiters.

Fortunately, however, the tradition of American workers is that they have always supported the struggle for freedom and equality.

Equality cannot be compromised, neither the equality of the dark nor light skinned. Teamsters are quick to question motives of those proposing compromise and place the term "backlash" in the same dirty garbage can where dirty phrases like "right-to-work" long ago were tossed.

American Plan! Right-to-Work! Backlash! By any other name, these phrases are nothing but an anti-labor hoax.

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Official magazine of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Ware-housemen and Helpers of America, 25 Louisiana Ave., N. W., Washington 1, D. C.

Vol. No. 61, No. 10 October, 1964 House Orders Probe of Justice Dept. 5 Special news report on investigation National Freight Grievance Group Meets First meeting under new freight pact Airline Division Wins for Stewardesses 10 New pact follows strike for demands **Drivers Win Long Fight for Union** 11 Overcome technicalities and delay New Teamster Drive among Chicago Cabs 12 Interest high for return to Local 777 Teamsters Are Zoo Keepers in San Diego 16 Everybody benefits from Teamster representation Man with a Hoe, 1964 24 Writer lives life of farm laborer

On Page 19, a SPECIAL REPORT

Social Welfare at the Crossroads



The International Teamster has an average monthly circulation of 1,506,608 and an estimated readership of 3,800,000 (based on average impartial surveys of periodicals). It is the largest labor publication in the world.

Editorial material should be addressed to:
Teamsters Union, Office of Public Relations and Publications,
25 Louisiana Ave. N. W., Washington, D. C. 20001.



POSTMASTERS—ATTENTION: Change of address cards on Form 3579 should be sent to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen & Helpers of America, Mailing List Department, 810 Rhode Island Avenue, N. E., Washington, D. C. 20018. Published monthly at 810 Rhode Island Avenue, N. E., Washington, D. C., by the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen & Helpers of America, and second class postage paid at Washington, D. C. Printed in U.S.A. Subscription rates: Per annum, \$2.50; Single Copies, 25 cents. (All orders payable in advance.)



POSTMARKS

Scholars Behind Probe of Justice

(Editor's Note: The following two communications, one before the vote of the House Judiciary Committee for a probe into the Justice Department, the other after the vote, are indicative of the kind of interest in such a probe expressed by dignitaries of the academic world. Both communications are reprinted here for your information.)

Mr. Emanuel Celler, Chairman Members of the House Judiciary Committee

House of Representatives

Washington, D. C.
You will recall, perhaps, that I was one of the signatories of a telegram that was sent to you on August 17, 1964, recommending continual Congressional supervision of the Department of Justice. The other signatories were: Fowler W. Harper, Professor of Law, Yale University, Vern Countryman, Professor of Law, Harvard University, Thomas I. Emerson, Professor of Law, Yale University, Gerhard P. Van Arkel, attorney, Washington, D. C., H. H. Wilson, Professor of Politics, Princeton University. sity.

I understand now that the question of

whether the Judiciary Committee of the House is to institute an investigation of the Department of Justice is in danger of becoming a partisan issue instead of a question of desirable governmental pro-

It would be tragic if the basic question raised in the telegram of August 17, 1964, were thus to be lost sight of. That question is purely and simply whether a government agency which has overwhelming power is surrounded with sufficient safeguards to prevent it from abusing that power.

Has the Department of Justice, for

example, failed to prosecute violations of Constitutional Rights because of unnecessary timidity?

Has it employed illegal methods such as wire tapping and divulgence in its investigations of other illegal acts?

Has it failed to help preserve an atmosphere of impartiality and disinterestedness in which criminal trials are to be held?

These are just a few examples of abuses of power that may already have taken place or that may take place in the future. A Congressional committee is the most effective agency for ascertaining the facts and what need there may be for remedial legislation. I hope that your committee will undertake to discharge this function fearlessly and without partisan prejudice in order to strengthen our cherished protections against oppressive government.

Daniel M. Berman Professor of Government The American University Washington, D. C.

Mr. Emanuel Celler, Chairman The House Judiciary Committee Washington, D. C.

I applaud the adoption by the House Judiciary Committee of the resolution to Investigate the Department of Justice.

It seems to me that no one can rightly protest against an action designed to ascertain whether an important agency of government is itself guilty of abridging constitutional and legal rights. The resolution that was approved had bi-partisan support. In its terms, it is concerned with the actions of the Department of Justice under any administration, whether Democratic or Republican.

I hope that the Chairman of the Judiciary Committee will execute the mandate that the Committee has given to him with dispatch. It would be a dereliction of his responsibilities to permit his own personal opposition to the investigation to influence his actions in

this respect.

I have long felt that accusations that have been made against the Justice Department are so serious that the department itself would want them disposed of for the purpose of protecting its good

The Judiciary Committee, I trust, will work conscientiously to provide the information and recommendations that are needed to make the Department of Justice an agency of the government of which all Americans, regardless of party, can be proud.

Daniel M. Berman Professor of Government The American University Washington, D. C.



Member Directs Youth Group

John C. Bettger, a member of Teamster Local 281 in Portland, Ore., is mighty proud of 39 youngsters—all members of the Royal Legion Lancers Junior Drum and Bugle Corps which he directs.

The Lancers won 7 awards as a unit and 18 individual awards at a state convention held by the American Legion in Milwaukie, Ore., recently.

Local 281 was one of several organizations in the Portland area that helped finance the youth group by buying instruments and providing transportation.

Member Rescues Woman in Fire

Vernon Dressel, a member of Teamster Local 471 in Minneapolis, was credited with rescuing a 61-year-old woman from certain death in her home recently.

Dressel was making his rounds when he noticed smoke coming from a window of a home. He investigated and found Mrs. Dorothy Hagen unconscious on the floor of a smoke-filled room.

Dressel tried the back door, found it unlocked, and carried Mrs. Hagen to safety.

After phoning for an ambulance and calling the fire department, the Teamster with the help of a neighbor put a garden hose through a window to quench flames on some drapes.

The fire victim recovered, thanks to Dressel's alertness.

Joseph Polito Dies in Buffalo

Joseph Polito, interim vice president of Teamster Joint Council 46 in Buffalo, N.Y., died in mid-September after a long career as a Teamster member and representative.

A native of Buffalo, Polito became the first business agent of Teamster Local 558 in 1936 and served continuously in the post until his death.

Edward Kinnare Dies in Chicago

Edward J. Kinnare, a member of Teamster Local 734 in Chicago, died recently when stricken with a heart attack.

Kinnare had been a member of Local 734 for 26 years and served 8 years as an officer and business agent.

Brewery Driver Attends Party

Al Catalano, a member of Teamster Local 46 in New York City, recently attended an unusual birthday party for 1-year-old Lisa Marie Stocklin.

For Catalano, the party was a reminder that he helped bring the little girl into the world.

The Stocklin car ran out of gas a year ago and Catalano rushed the expectant mother to the hospital with only minutes to spare.

Agent Heads Trades Council

A. A. Medley, business agent for Teamster Local 213 in Vancouver, B.C., has been elected president of the newly-formed B.C. Provincial Building and Construction Trades Council recently chartered by the AFL-CIO Building Trades Department.

The council, to be headquartered in Vancouver, represents more than 40,000 workers in British Columbia.

Formation of the council began about 2 years ago and finally came about when the existing 5 building trades councils in B.C., recognized the need for a coordinated effort by the various unions involved.

Medley had been vice president of the Vancouver council since 1962 and was a popular choice to head the new province-wide organization.

Teamster on Poverty Panél

Lester LeVoir, secretary-treasurer of Teamster Local 1145, has been named to a 33-member committee to coordinate efforts at combating poverty in Minneapolis.

LeVoir's appointment was made by the president of the Community Health and Welfare Council of Hennepin County.

The council has been asked by Minneapolis Mayor Arthur Naftalin to study the poverty situation in the Minnesota city with emphasis to be placed on implementing federal antipoverty legislation.

Teamsters Help Safety Drive

Safety-award winning Teamster truck drivers in Minnesota helped out on a Labor Day Safety Crusade in that state.

Over the long week-end, the drivers were stationed at 24 heavily traveled locations in the Twin Cities and other major Minnesota communities where they handed out some 75,000 litterbags.

The litterbags were imprinted with a safe-driving message telling the stark facts about deaths, injuries, and accidents on Minnesota highways.

In addition, tractor-trailers from member companies of the Minnesota Motor Transport Assn. were stationed at intersections carrying banners with safe-driving messages.

Where Are The Champions?

IN THIS ISSUE of the International Teamster is the story of the long struggle of a group of soft drink employees in South Carolina to obtain their right to bargaining collectively.

That this group of workers was ultimately victorious is a tribute to the workers themselves, to the Eastern Conference of Teamsters, and to Teamster Local 509.

Nearly a year ago, these workers voted 56 to 14 for union representation. Their vote was a decisive answer to the question of whether or not the

majority wanted union membership—a question which must be resolved in a manner prescribed by law.

The legal steps were these: The government, through the National Labor Relations Board, reviewed the case before the vote was held to determine if there was proper interest among employees and to determine whether the group constituted a proper unit for collective bargaining purposes.

Satisfied that this was the case, the NLRB compiled a list of workers eligible to vote.

On election day, with union and management having the right to observe, the NLRB conducted the election. The vote of the workers for the union should have resolved the question with finality.

Yet, the workers and their union representatives were to experience nearly a year of frustrations with legal technicalities and legal expenses before the government finally certified the union and bargaining with the employer could begin.

Utilizing safeguards in labor law, management lawyers have devised an ingenious maze of schemes to beat off unionization even though workers legally demonstrate their desire for union membership.

While company, union and NLRB lawyers and officials hold hearings, review cases, review findings, hold re-hearings and re-review cases and re-review findings, workers' needs are frustrated.



Employees voting for a union are seeking immediate relief from conditions which they as individuals cannot resolve with employers. They are not seeking protection a year hence, or two years, or whenever the employer has finally exhausted every possible loophole to keep from having to bargaining collectively.

Workers are forced to seek higher paying jobs elsewhere, or jobs which do not incumber them with wages and conditions which they sought to improve with union membership. They

become discouraged and disillusioned about their alleged right to organize and bargain collectively. Such discouragement and disillusionment is what the employer seeks to exploit by long delay.

In many, many instances workers are intimidated during the period after the union vote and before the union is certified. Given a year in which to exploit all ramifications of such delay, an employer in most instances can defeat the workers' desire for union representation.

This certainly was not the intent of Congress as it developed the nation's laws governing union membership and a worker's right to organize. There was no intent to guarantee a worker's rights on the one hand while on the other giving employers the right to frustrate those rights.

Congress during this decade has concerned itself hysterically, at times, with the rights of those already belonging to unions. It has, however, ignored the needs of non-union workers seeking membership, workers who are frustrated by employers, and their representatives striving to preserve substandard wages and conditions.

Yet, do you hear any of the champions of workers' rights discussing this issue as they campaign for election to a place at the public trough?

James R Hoffo

House Judiciary Committee Orders Justice Department Probed

THE HOUSE Judiciary Committee last month took the issue away from its vacillating chairman and voted a full probe of the Justice Department and the office of the Attorney General "concerning individual rights and liberties as guaranteed by the constitution."

The vote for a full probe "regardless of the administration in power" was 20 to 13.

The committee also beat back an attempt to exclude investigation of cases involving Teamster General President James R. Hoffa when Congressman Charles Mathias (R-Md.) offered a resolution which would have excluded cases still pending before the courts.

The committee's impatience with Chairman Emanuel Celler stemmed from the fact that it had waited for 22 weeks for Celler to move on an investigation which was voted by the group last March.

At that time, Celler appointed a subcommittee to look into government excesses in its handling of the Chattanooga trial of Hoffa.

The committee was recently asked to accept a report which whitewashed the Justice Department. Congressman James E. Bromwell (R-Iowa) refused to permit the report which was submitted by the Justice Department which itself was the target of the investigation. Bromwell refused because of his legal background and his demand that witnesses be heard and all evidence weighed.

Celler lost control of his committee under heavy bi-partisan pressure and under the insistence of several prominent university professors and a prominent Washington, D. C. attorney that the investigation be held.

Representatives Roland Libonati (D-III.) and Michael A. Feighan (D-Ohio) and George Meader (R-Mich.) have constantly demanded that the administration of justice be probed.

Meader, who was flown to Wash-

ington, D. C., from a hospital bed in Michigan to vote for the probe, and was taken to the committee hearing room in a wheel chair, has demanded since the vote that Chairman Celler disqualify himself as the chairman of the subcommittee which will conduct the investigation.

In a telegram to Celler, Meader

asked the New York Democrat to vacate his post.

"In view of your publicity-stated opposition, such an inquiry would be a guaranteed built-in whitewash," Meador declared.

The Michigan congressman also declared that Celler is defying the committee mandate in announcing that

House Resolution Calls For Probe Of Justice

RESOLVED, That a special subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary is authorized and directed to conduct a full and complete investigation and study, take evidence, and make findings and recommendations, legislative or otherwise, of the Department of Justice and the office of the Attorney General concerning individual rights and liberties as guaranteed by the Constitution and the laws of the United States, regardless of the administration in power; and be it further

RESOLVED, That for the purpose of carrying out this resolution the special subcommittee is authorized, pursuant to the authority granted in House Resolution 36, to sit and act during the present Congress at such times and places within the United States, whether the House is in session, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings and to required by subpoena or otherwise, the attendance and testimony of such witnesses and the production of such books, records, correspondence, memoranda, papers, and documents, as it deems necessary. Subpoenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the special subcommittee or any member of the special subcommittee designated by him, and may be served by any person designated by such chairman or member. The chairman of the special subcommittee or any member thereof may administer oaths to witnesses; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary is authorized and directed to allot from funds, available from the contingent fund of the House, under House Resolution 35, such sums, but not less than \$50,000, as are necessary to conduct this investigation and study. The special subcommittee is authorized to employ consultants, possessing such outstanding qualifications as law school professors, political scientists, and practicing attorneys, and other necessary investigators, attorneys, and clerical, stenographic, and other assistants, to conduct this full and complete investigation and study; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the special subcommittee shall be composed of ten members, six from the majority and four from the minority party, selected by the Chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary.

Special News Report

he would fight the Hoffa aspect of the probe.

In addition to the Congressmen and other Capitol Hill figures, pressure for the probe came heavily from the academic world.

Fowler W. Harper, professor of law at Yale University; Vern Countryman, professor of law at Harvard University; Thomas I. Emerson, professor of law at Yale University; Gerhard P. Van Arkel, prominent Washington, D. C., attorney; Daniel M. Berman, professor of government at The American University; and H. H. Wilson, professor of political science at Princeton University, all have been in constant communication with Celler urging him to act in an area which gives them much concern.

Additionally, Professor Philip B. Kurland, member of the University of Chicago law school and editor of the Supreme Court Review has been demanding the probe since the early days of the Hoffa Chattanooga trial when evidence of government violation of Hoffa's constitutional rights was brought to his attention.

Two-Pronged Probe

Kurland suggested that the committee divide any investigation into two parts. The first would deal with the utilization of the Department of Justice to effectuate political ends. The second involves the means utilized by the Department to secure convictions, especially in the cases with highly political overtones.

It was early in February of this year that Congressman James Roosevelt urged Celler to conduct such a probe.

Veteran Capitol Hill observers are viewing Celler's vacillation as evidence that Bobbie Kennedy already is intimidating New York State Democrats. Celler, they say, is Dean of the New York State congressional delegation, but is afraid to conduct a probe into Bobbie Kennedy's shenanigans as Attorney General for fear that Bobbie will win the U.S. Senate seat from New York and will ruthlessly swallow up the New York State Democratic organization.

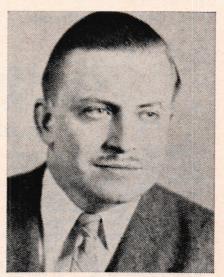
The observers are also declaring that this intimidation is turning Celler away from serious obligations to both the nation and to his state.

"If," says one observer, "Bobbie Kennedy has been derelict and suspect in his post as Attorney General, then



Vern Countryman





Daniel M. Berman



H. H. Wilson



Thomas I. Emerson



Gerhard Van Arkel

Special News Report

certainly New York voters have a right to know about it before they go to the polls. If Celler scuttles the probe until after the election, it can only be viewed as his submission to pressures brought by Bobbie Kennedy's high-handed political deportment to keep the former Attorney General's skeletons in the closet until after the vote is in in his race with Incumbent Senator Kenneth Keating."

Also a subject of discussion on Capitol Hill is Celler's public statements which attempt to narrow the confines of the resolution of the committee and thus side track the investigation.

The resolution adopted by the committee calls for an investigation into the Justice Department in depth.

It does not limit the investigation to Hoffa cases, nor even to Hoffa, Roy Cohn and Gen. Walker cases, as did the original resolution by Congressman Libonati.

The present resolution calls for an investigation into the entire broad spectrum of violation of constitutional rights and civil liberties. It calls for a probe of investigative methods, not only by Bobbie Kennedy, but by other administrations, too.

The depth of the mandate voted by members of the Celler Committee is spelled out in the resolution which not only orders the committee to conduct its probe "whether the House is in session, has recessed, or has adjourned," but also authorized the committee to:

"Employ consultants, possessing such outstanding qualifications as law school professors, political scientists, and practicing attorneys, and other necessary investigators, attorneys and clerical, stenographic and other assistants, to conduct this full and complete investigation."

The committee is authorized to appropriate "not less than \$50,000 to finance the investigation."

Chairman Celler's public statements that he will not be in a hurry to conduct the probe, that members will be busy campaigning for reelection, and other utterances of vacillation defy the mandate of the resolution to conduct the probe, that members will be the House is in session, recessed, or adjourned.

Full text of the resolution appears elsewhere in this issue of the *International Teamster*.



Rep. Libonati

Celler's dilemma is compounded by the facts that the mandate of the Judiciary Committee marks one of the few times an Administration has ordered a probe of itself, and it also marks one of the very few times a chairman of a committee has lost control of his committee on a crucial vote.



Rep. Meader

Rep. McCoulloch



The Vote

The following is the Associated Press tabulation of how members of the House Judiciary Committee voted on the resolution calling for an investigation into the activities of the Justice Department:

REPUBLICANS for:
William M. McCulloch, Ohio
William E. Miller, N. Y.
Richard H. Poff, Va.
William C. Cramer, Fla.
Arch A. Moore, Jr., W. Va.
John V. Lindsay, N. Y.
Garner E. Shriver, Kans.
Charles Mathias, Jr., Md.
James E. Bromwell, Iowa
Carleton J. King, N. Y.
Patrick M. Martin, Calif.
George Meader, Mich.

REPUBLICANS Against: William T. Cahill, N. J.

DEMOCRATS for: Michael Feighan, Ohio William B. Tuck, Va. Robert T. Ashmore, S. C.
John Dowdy, Texas
Basil L. Whitener, N. C.
Roland V. Libonati, Ill.
Robert W. Kastenmeier, Wisc.
George F. Senner, Jr., Ariz.

DEMOCRATS against:
Emanuel Celler, N. Y.
Frank Chelf, Ky.
Edwin E. Willis, La.
Peter W. Rodino, Jr., N. J.
Harold D. Donohue, Mass.
Byron G. Rogers, Colo.
Jack B. Brooks, Tex.
Jacob H. Gilbert, N. Y.
James C. Corman, Calif.
William L. St. Onge, Conn.
Don Edwards, Calif.
Herman Toll, Penna.



STATE OF THE UNION

National Freight Grievance Group Holds First Meeting

A HISTORIC FIRST in the field of labor relations took place in Washington, D. C., last month, when members of the National Grievance Committee, representing union and management, held its first session under the terms

of the National Freight Agreement between Teamster local unions and the nation's trucking firms.

Chairman of the historic meeting was Teamster General President James R. Hoffa.

The National Grievance Committee hears grievance cases under the contract which cannot be solved at the area conference level.

The National Freight Contract covers approximately 450,000 Team-

A historic first took place last month in Washington, D. C., when Teamster President James R. Hoffa convened the first meeting of the National Grievance Committee, the group charged with settling differences under the National Freight

Agreement between the Teamsters and the nation's truckers. Shown here are union and management committee members and management and union personnel with an interest in the cases presented to the committee.





Chief Labor Counsel for the IBT David Previant (left) and his law partner David Uelmen discuss a case at the recent session of the National Grievance Committee in Washington, D. C.



During a lighter moment, Teamster President James R. Hoffa enjoys a humorous incident in the proceedings of the National Grievance Committee. On Hoffa's left is Roy Williams, chairman of the Central States Drivers' Council.



C. G. Zwingle, chairman of management's grievance committee under the National Freight Agreement, listens to the presentation of a case to the full committee.

ster members engaged in the movement of the nation's freight, and approximately 16,000 trucking companies.

Chairman of the management committee is C. G. Zwingle, who was chairman of management's negotiating team when the historic National Freight Agreement was consummated last January.

Commenting on the National Grievance Committee meeting, Hoffa declared:

"The small number of grievance cases which were brought before this committee proves that a National Freight Agreement is the only method under which satisfactory labor management relations can be consummated.

"Operating under the standard language of the National Freight Agreement, our local unions and the companies have found areas for disagreement considerably narrowed.

"It is a tribute to union representatives that most grievances are settled right in the barn or terminal where they occur. Some cannot be resolved there and go to the various committees within the four area-wide conferences. Again, operating under the standard language of the National Freight Agreement, only a few of these remain unsolved, and must be taken before the machinery of the National Grievance Committee," Hoffa said.

"I predict that as we gain experience under the National Freight Agreement, "Hoffa continued, "there will be even fewer grievances to come before the National Committee, fewer before the area-wide committees, and we will find that the majority of the beefs will be settled at the local union level."

There were no newspaper headlines or television spectaculars concerning the meeting of the National Grievance Committee. The meeting went entirely unnoticed by the press.

"It was an example of enlightened labor-management relations at work," Hoffa commented. "There was nothing in the meetings which could be used by anti-labor politicians calling for more restrictive laws. So, the newspaper-reading public got no accounts of the meeting."

Participants in the recent meeting of the National Grievance Committee were Murray W. Miller (left), Director of the Southern Conference of Teamsters, and Thomas E. Flynn, Director of the Eastern Conference of Teamsters. Both are International Union vice presidents.



The legality of it all is discussed by Teamster attorneys. At left is Florian Bartosic, house counsel for the International Brotherhood of Teamsters in Washington, D. C. At right is Al Brundage, labor counsel for the Western Conference of Teamsters.



Stewardesses Win Big Gains With Capitol Airways Strike

THREE DAYS of strike was all it took for 75 stewardesses based at Wilmington, Del., to win a new Teamster agreement giving them large pay increases and fringes at Capitol Airways.

The final contract ironed out under the eye of the National Mediation Board also gave the girls some provisions they had never enjoyed before in a contract.

The agreement ditches the old pay scale which included job classifications ranging from trainee to first stewardess after 6 years and substituted a new scale tossing out the classification of second stewardess.

Whereas before a trainee began at \$200 a month and could anticipate a top scale of \$350 after 6 years, now the trainee begins at \$250 and reaches 6th year rating with \$410.

Maintaining a strong picket line in a 3-day strike were these stewardesses at Capitol Airways. They won a pace-setting agreement true to the tradition of Teamsters Union principles.



Flight time of \$1 for each hour flown on any aircraft is a new addition to the contract with a 60-hour guarantee.

Overtime goes into effect after 75 hours on a DC-8 and after 100 hours on a Constellation aircraft.

The agreement also provides for show time pay, deadhead pay, a \$10 uniform allowance, recall and furlough clauses, flight time limitations and rest provisions besides a grievance procedure.

Henry Breen, director of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters Airline Division, said the contract means that a stewardess with top seniority and flying under beneficial conditions can collect a paycheck as high as \$647 a month.

Pan American Pact

The Airline Division of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters has signed a contract covering 1,300 service supply clerks employed by Pan American World Airways, Inc.

The agreement extends to Nov. 15, 1966, and provides hourly gains of 13 and 12 cents in the 2 years. The contract also covers lead service supply clerks.

Besides the pay increases, the agreement also provides 16 and 21 cent hourly shift differentials, 4 weeks of paid vacation after 15 years on the job, sick leave, and a company-paid group life insurance plan.

The contract also contains provisions for longevity pay of 1 cent per hour per year after 3 years of service and up to a maximum of 10 cents an hour.

Spalding Contract

Teamster Local 864 has signed a strong initial contract for maintenance employees and shipping clerks employed by Spalding & Bros., sporting goods company in Rolla, Mo.

Lee Blackwell, Local 864 president, said the agreement was retroactive to last July 1, calling for a starting salary of \$1.80 per hour to be increased 5 cents each month for 5 months, totaling \$2.05 per hour by December.

The company also agreed to par-

ticipate in the Central States Health and Welfare and Pension plans, contributing \$5.30 and \$7 weekly to the respective plans. Pension fund contributions will be increased to \$8 in February, 1966.

Other benefits include an 80-cent weekly medicare payment for each employee to go into effect Jan. 1, 1967.

Canteen Agreement

An 11-day strike by members of Teamster Local 537 in Denver against the Canteen Co., of Colorado resulted in a 3-year contract producing gains that management originally resisted, according to Business Agent Jerry Friedman.

Hourly-rated employees of the firm which services hundreds of vending machines received a 30-cent hourly boost over the life of the agreement—24 cents in pay and 6 cents in fringe benefits. Commission drivers gained \$8.50 in weekly wage increases plus the 6 cents.

The work week, a major issue because the firm wanted to add 10 hours, was held at 42½ hours with 3 hours of offset overtime.

Shipyard Contract

Teamster Local 36 was the last of 7 unions involved in a 50-day strike at the San Diego shipyards to approve a new contract.

Local 36's bargaining unit included the warehouse and transportation workers at National Steel & Shipbuilding, largest shipyard in the city.

The contract provided a 30-cent an hour package gain in wages and benefits over the next 3 years, plus an additional paid half-holiday on Christmas eve and important changes in work rules.

Altogether, some 1,500 shipyard workers were involved in the walkout.

Indianapolis Victory

Teamster Local 193 in Indianapolis, Ind., recently succeeded in organizing N. K. Hurst Co., dried food packager, which had successfully resisted organizing by several different unions through the years.

The new members ratified the first contract giving them wage increases and a beginning on fringe benefits. Wage rates at Hurst had previously been near the minimum.

Drivers Win Long Fight for Union Against Employer's Delay and Red Tape

IT ISN'T ENOUGH to just win a representation election in the right-to-work state of South Carolina—the victorious union must then be prepared for a long legal battle before gaining certification by the National Labor Relations Board.

This fact Teamster Local 509 witnessed anew after winning an overwhelming victory at the Pepsi-Cola Bottling Co., in Columbia, S.C., Oct. 31, 1963.

Of 73 eligible voters, 56 balloted in favor of Teamster representation while only 14 were against the Union. There were 3 challenged ballots.

But it was nearly a year before the workers at the Pepsi-Cola plant—clearly in favor of unionization—were legally certified as a collective bargaining unit of Local 509 and able to begin negotiating for better wages, hours, and conditions.

It was a classic example, as Eastern Conference of Teamsters Director Thomas E. Flynn said, "of the legal entanglements which the employers throw in our way and which cause tremendous delays."

Delaying Action

It illustrated, too, why the spread of unionism is a slow, painful path of progress in the South where employers cling to their right-to-work laws with the deliberate motive of maintaining plantation or scrub-pine economies.

Although the Pepsi-Cola workers—including route salesmen, service workers, trailer drivers, accounts collectors and others at Columbia and four other small towns—voted Teamster in October, 1963, it was Aug. 31, 1964, before they were eligible to pursue their rights under the law.

Immediately after the representation election, the employer started his delaying action by filing objections.

The NLRB regional director conducted a subsequent investigation and on Jan. 27, 1964, issued a supplemental decision overruling some of the employer's objections and ordering a hearing on some of the employer's other complaints.

Local 509 responded by asking for a review of the supplemental decision. The Union asked for certification without a hearing on the objections, knowing full well that the objections were invalid, and explained why.

It was May 18, 1964, before the NLRB denied the Local 509 request for a review and in the first part of June a hearing was held before an examiner. All parties appeared and participated in the hearing and were given full opportunity to speak their piece.

On July 15, 1964, the hearing officer issued his report recommending that the employer's objections be overruled and that the NLRB should certify the Teamster Local as representative for the Pepsi-Cola workers.

Further Delay

Two weeks later, the employer served timely exceptions to the hearing officers report and recommendation which meant that the regional director, by law, must review the entire case—resulting in further delay which prevented the workers from exercising their collective bargaining desires and imposed still another burden on the NLRB office.

Finally on Aug. 31, 1964, the NLRB regional director issued his decision which completely refuted the company's stand that had been sus-

tained by legal maneuvering through the months.

"The Board," read the ruling, "has stated that resolutions of hearing officers are to be accorded great weight, and that credibility resolutions are not to be overruled except where the clear preponderance of all the relevant evidence establishes that the resolutions are incorrect."

Then came the welcome words:

". . . The undersigned concludes that there is insufficient evidence in the record to warrant a reversal of the hearing officer's credibility resolutions, and they are hereby affirmed."

The employer thus was overruled all down the line and Teamster Local 509 was certified as the collective bargaining representative of the Pepsi-Cola Bottling Co. employees "with respect to rates of pay, wages, hours of employment and other conditions of employment."

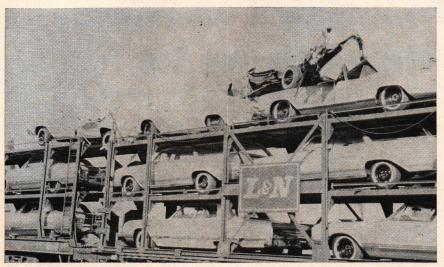
It had been a long legal struggle. The final decision was a tribute to the persistence of both the Teamster Local 509 organizers and to the Pepsi-Cola workers—neither of which chose to quit in the face of tremendous pressures on the job.

Bakery Conference



The National Bakery Conference of Teamsters held an annual meeting in Chicago recently on problems facing the industry and the efforts being made by various local unions to solve them. Shown at the speakers' table during the opening session were (left to right): Thomas F. Carroll, secretary-treasurer of the Conference; Richard J. Daley, mayor of Chicago; Harold J. O'Brien, president of Teamster Local 734; Wendell J. Phillips, Conference chairman, and International Vice President John T. O'Brien.

Model Change



What's a good way to make a convertible out of a hardtop? Well, shipping it piggyback is one way, as this picture of new (?) autos shows. Not only was the model changed, but the shipment delayed somewhat when this piggyback load of new cars failed to fit through a railroad underpass recently near Port Huron, Michigan. Buying a new car? Insist that your dealer have his inventory delivered by Teamsters. That way, you'll get the model you order—on time.

Interest Soars Among Chicago Cabbies For Return to Teamster Local 777

CHICAGO CAB drivers are pinning their hopes on a return of stability to their union affairs on a giant organizing drive taking shape by Teamster Local 777 which is pointing toward an early National Labor Relations Board election to return Chicago cabbies to the Teamster ranks.

With their current collective bargaining status now mired in the futility of the Seafarers Union, and with their hopes disenchanted by political machinations within their local union, Chicago cab drivers count on a bastion of strength within Local 777.

Even though Local 777 lost bargaining rights for the cab drivers more than two years ago, more than 2,000 drivers have continued to pay their dues to the Teamster affiliate. It is from this nucleus of strength that they hope to return again to the bargaining strength of the Teamsters.

Led out of the giant union by a Teamster defector, the Chicago cab drivers recently gave him his walking papers in a union election. His leadership wasn't what they expected when they left the Teamsters.

Defeated in the recent election was Dominic Abata who exploited antiTeamster propaganda and involvement of politicians to lead the drivers out of the Teamsters.

Now it has all changed.

Teamster organizers, with the backing of International Vice President John T. O'Brien, are taking to the streets seeking signature of cab drivers on authorization cards which will certify sufficient interest for the NLRB to conduct an election.

Early reports from the field are that interest in returning to the Teamsters is high among Chicago cab drivers, and Local 777 officials are pointing toward an early election. O'Brien, commenting on the organizing drive, urges all Chicago cab drivers to sign authorization cards.

"Cab drivers belong in the Teamsters," O'Brien declared. "Through the years, Teamsters have become the experts in negotiating for cab drivers, have learned what cab drivers' problems are, and have a national trade division to handle such problems. Anywhere in the country where cab drivers are making good wages and are working under good conditions, you'll find that they are working under a Teamster negotiated contract," O'Brien declared.

• 'Jim' Ballew Dies

James H. Ballew, long-time Teamster official until his retirement two years ago, died last month from a heart ailment.

At the time of his retirement in October, 1962, Ballew had been secretary-treasurer of Local 38 for most of the 26 years he was an active Teamster. He served at one time as Director of the Western States Dairy Division.

The fatal heart attack occurred at his home in Everett, Wash., on his 65th birthday. Surviving are his widow, Eleanor, a daughter, and two sons. One son, Joseph Ballew, is comptroller of the Western Conference of Teamsters.

Pension for Cabbies

Teamster Local 958 has won a pension program for taxi drivers in Minneapolis—a rarity in the cab industry.

Jack Tilsner, Local 958 business agent, said a new 3-year contract provided for a pension plan offering a maximum of \$40 a month for a driver after 20 years' service on reaching 65 years of age.

The agreement, which covers some 700 members, also brought a \$2.25 raise for drivers along with 5 cents an hour raise each year for the inside employees.

New Local Wins First Contract

Newly-chartered Teamster Local 663 at Westlake, La., recently won its first collective bargaining agreement after a 99-day strike at the Continental Oil Co., refinery in Lake Charles.

Charles D. Winters, president of Teamster Local 270 and provisional caretaker of the new local union until it can hold elections for officers, said the membership approved a 3-year contract calling for a general wage increase.

The agreement also provides an additional week of vacation for employees after 5 years on the job, and a reduction in the employee contribution to the company's retirement program.

\$100,000 Backpay Melon Won For Florida Batch Bin Drivers

Backpay totaling nearly \$100,000 is almost in the hands of 29 members of Teamster Local 79 in Tampa, Fla., pending a Nov. 12, 1964, hearing scheduled by the National Labor Relations Board.

The hearing, to give the Tampa Sand & Material Co., a last chance to protest, is expected to have little effect upon the backpay determination.

The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, in a July 10, 1963, decision, entered its decree enforcing the order of the NLRB in making the award totaling \$98,371 and also ordering job reinstatement of 16 of the Teamsters who were employed by the company before a May 27, 1960, strike.

When the November hearing rolls around, Tampa Sand will have a right to object further. But if the company fails to deny allegations in a specific manner, the NLRB decision will go into effect and the members will get their backpay in time for Christmas shopping.

The unfair labor practices suit brought by Local 79 on behalf of the batch bin drivers fired by Tampa Sand will result in some of the Teamsters

First to Retire



Stephen Harris (center) of Teamster Local 968 in Houston, Tex., was the first member in the Beaumont area to retire under the freight pension plan. Presenting the first check to Harris are J. O. Peveto (right), Local 968 business representative, and H. F. Sears (left), terminal manager for East Texas Motor Freight.

getting more than \$7,000 in backpay with the average running at nearly \$3,400 each. The pay covers periods ranging between 1961 and 1964.

Hawaii Agreements

Teamster Local 996 in Honolulu has completed contract negotiations covering warehouse workers at Fisher Corp., and McKesson-Robbins.

Art Rutledge, president of Local 996, said the settlements brought near uniformity to Teamster warehouse contracts in the Islands.

The McKesson-Robbins contract increased wages 45 cents an hour over a 3-year period. There also were gains in severance pay, sick leave, overtime pay, and other language.

A 16-month agreement at Fisher Corp., granted wage increases comparable to other warehouses with members receiving 12 cents an hour more retroactive to last April 1, and an additional 8 cents effective Dec. 1.

City Employees

Teamster Local 75 has won the right to be the exclusive bargaining agent for employees of the Green Bay, Wis., street and sanitation departments.

The Teamsters defeated County and Municipal Employees Local 1672 AFL-CIO in a Wisconsin Employee Relations Board election early in September. The election had been requested by Local 1672.

A similar election was held 2 years ago which also was won by Local 75, but the Park department requested a separate vote between the 2 unions and Local 1672 won the bargaining rights for that group, yet still has not gained a contract.

The Teamsters, prior to the most recent election, asked the Wisconsin board to withdraw their charge of an unfair labor practice against the city. The charge had been brought because the city had been deducting dues of about 40 members of Local 1672.

Green Bay had been following a policy based on a 1950 city council resolutions agreeing to deduct any union dues requested by an employee.

Smith Named To Conference Warehouse Post

Sam Smith, of Wichita, Kansas, has been named Director of the Central Conference of Teamsters warehouse division.

Smith is president of Teamster Local 795 in Wichita.

In appointing Smith to the Central Conference position, Teamster General President James R. Hoffa outlined his duties by stating: "You will work for the furtherance of the interests of our warehouse locals in the Central Conference, and will work in close association with Robert Holmes." Holmes is chairman of the Central Conference warehouse division.

Family Pickets

Martha Ortega and her 8-year-old son, Skipper, are shown together proudly walking a picket line in Denver recently after a fresh vegetable packaging company refused to recognize Teamster Local 452 as the bargaining representative for 40 employees. The local union filed unfair labor practice charges against the company when 8 employees were allegedly fired for union activity.



Louisville Local Assists Members With Driver Training Program

QUALIFIED truck drivers are being turned out at an increasing rate by a young training program by Teamster Local 89 in Louisville, Ky.

Started in 1962 for Teamster members working within the trucking industry, the program in 3 years has been broadened to include Teamsters working in the warehouse and miscellaneous divisions of Local 89.

Marion Winstead and Paul W. Priddy, secretary-treasurer and presi-

dent respectively of Local 89, proudly proclaim the training program as a tremendous success.

In the first year, 60 students were graduated. In the second year, 82 graduated and this year, with the assistance of 14 instructors, 112 qualified drivers passed their final exams.

The members are taught by professional Teamster drivers and must go through a 6-week course to be eligible for their final test.

On graduation day, the students are put through a series of complicated exercises to prove they have become competent and cautious truck drivers.

A Diploma

The final tests are observed by the instructors and the other students along with officers of Local 89 and representatives of the Kentucky Motor Transportation Assn.

If the student passes the tests, he is then presented with a diploma indicating he has completed his training program and is a qualified truck driver.

To make the program complete, Local 89 President Priddy gives the successful trainees a speech and a graduation picture is taken.



John West, Local 89 assistant business agent, instructs James Lindemeyer, a student, in the task of maneuvering a tractor-trailer. More than 250 drivers have qualified in the local union's training program.



Taking part in final examinations of Local 89's 6-week driver training program last August were (left to right): Paul W. Priddy, Local 89 president; Joseph Conover, chairman of the Kentucky Motor Transportation Assn., and Kenneth Rittman, Local 89 assistant business agent.

Member Helps Revive Victim

John Carlton, a member of Teamster Local 584 in New York City, was one of four men praised recently for life-saving work in the case of a man overcome by carbon monoxide.

The quartet, all members of the West Islip Hook & Ladder Rescue Co., and trained in the use of an electronic resuscitator, arrived on the scene when the victim no longer had a pulse.

Carlton and the others worked on the man for an hour and a half before reviving him.

Officials praised the rescue group and nominated the men for annual life-saving awards.

Two 'Shuttle' Teamsters Guide Boys to Fourth Championship

When the Athletics of Eureka, California, Babe Ruth League, won the city championship recently, it was a fourth straight championship for the team and for two Teamster Local 684

truck drivers who manage and coach on a 'shuttle basis.'

Mike Bozzoli, manager, and Gene Pidgeon, coach, have led the Athletics to four championships in the league for boys 13 to 15 years of age.

The Bozzoli-Pidgeon shuttle coaching feat worked like this:

Both drive for a Eureka freight line. When one is on the road, the other is on the ball field with the boys. During the season just completed, they rarely saw each other, except on weekends. But they kept up communications on the needs of the team by leaving each other notes at the local coffee stop.

Bozzoli and Pidgeon are a couple of hard-working Teamsters who somehow find the time to work with the youth of the community in a healthy and worthwhile pursuit.

Reporter Magazine Rejects Bobbie As a Novelty

WHEN Bobbie Kennedy started tramping the campaign trail in New York seeking to put one of the Empire State's U. S. senate seats in his carpetbag, he found little support from New York State publications for his candidacy.

Seeking reelection, liberal Republican Kenneth Keating offered Kennedy maps of the city and the state, and volunteered any other information which might familiarize the former Attorney General with the state Bobbie seeks to represent.

In more sophisticated terms, Reporter magazine—which belongs to the more discreet—recently expressed its feelings on Bobbie Kennedy's search for a power base from which to spring to his ambitions. Wrote Max Ascoli, editor and publisher of the Reporter:

"It is good to know that Mr. Kennedy and his family are going to establish their residence on Long Island. New York politics, and particularly Democratic politics, can well afford new public figures, ambitious men who, having thoroughly mastered a knowledge of this state and its relationships with the rest of the Union, can show their fitness to aspire to national leadership.

"Mr. Kennedy is young and there is much future ahead of him. But in the present contest for U. S. Senator from New York, both the state and the union can stand to gain from the reelection of Kenneth Keating, who has given splendid evidence of independence from his party's new bosses."

Before reaching that conclusion, Ascoli declared that:

"The man (Bobbie) has acquired a reputation for remarkable versatility, a fiendish capacity for work, and, it is said, more than a streak of ruthlessness!"

That:

"After his brother's death, he had to establish himself on his own. To what extent the positions he achieved and the reputation he acquired were due to his brother's confidence and to what extent he himself contributed to the making of a President probably will never be adequately known. Neither, I must add, does it matter much."

That:

"What is certain, and more relevant, is that after the tragedy, Robert Kennedy found himself a public figure and acted as if the public owed him an opportunity to exhibit his talents."

Ascoli reasons that even though there is no constitutional requirement that a man must be a resident of the state from which he runs for the U. S. Senate, there are "old, sensible customs."

"As long as this remains a union of states, the privilege of representing a state in the U. S. Senate should be reserved for men who have long lived in that state and are thoroughly familiar with its exigencies and needs. A public character in search of a state is a novelty I fail to cherish," Ascoli declared.

Nerve Disease Fund Founded

James B. Dunkum, a member of Teamster Local 557 in Baltimore, has founded the Amyotrophic Lateral Sclerosis Foundation of America, Inc., chartered in Maryland to finance research of the dreaded nerve disease by that name.

Dunkum became interested in such work after it was discovered that his wife was a victim of the disease—the same malady that caused the death of the famous ballplayer, Lou Gehrig, in 1941. Mrs. Dunkum died recently.

Norman R. Mathias, also a member of Local 557, is the president of the new foundation which is devoted to raising funds and soliciting medical research into the causes and treatment of amyotrophic lateral sclerosis and related diseases.

The foundation has established an office in Glen Burnie, Md.

Ernie Banks Day



Donald Peters (right), president of Teamster Local 743 in Chicago, proudly wears an "Ernie Banks" button in honor of the Chicago Cubs baseball star who had just presented it to him. The button announced the recent "Ernie Banks Day" at Wrigley Field. The Cub star once served Local 743 as a part-time organizer.



She's enough to make the wolves whistle. But this baby wolf licks the chin of the attractive Teamster member employed by the San Diego zoo. It's all part of a day's work for the 275 members of Teamster Local 481 who care for the more than 4500 animals, birds, and reptiles.



The bottle baby's name is Vincent, baby giraffe in San Diego children section of the zoo. The nurse maid is Judy Bela, one of 275 members of Teamster Local 481 who care for the needs of the animals who star in the show.

Teamsters Are the Keepers At the San Diego Zoo

WHAT IS SO RARE as a day in June?

Probably a trip to the zoo for the children and for the young at heart.

And, it is better still if one works at the zoo, which is the good fortune of some 275 members of Teamster Local 481 in San Diego, California, who care for and feed one of the finest collections of animals in the world.

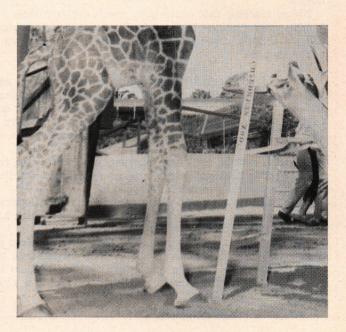
But, it was not always thus.

Not too many years ago, zoo workers often felt that the apes, hyenas, and tigers lived better than the workers lived on a wage structure with a maximum of \$311 a month.

But, along came Teamster Local 481 to represent the workers for better wages, hours, and working conditions, and therein lies a tale.

Local 481 Secretary-Treasurer James Barham reports that the previous \$311 maximum is now over \$600 in wages and benefits. Other classifications have been increased proportionately.

In addition to pay increases, zoo employees receive an unusually large number of paid holidays—10, including birthdays—and a health and welfare plan which Barham





Checking working conditions, Local 481 Secretary-Treasurer Jim Barham makes a purchase from one of the concession stands at the zoo.



Birds are fed by hand, insuring a proper diet, and this visitor is entranced as Webster Tyrrell, member of Teamster Local 481 performs the delicate task.

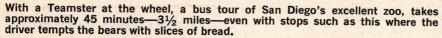
calls "excellent."

But arriving at such an excellent contract was no accident. Negotiators had to research the nature of the work involved, the conditions under which zoo employees work, and the dangers they face.

Local 481 officials found the following as they prepared to represent these specialized workers.

They found that job classifications at a zoo bear no resemblance to those at a freight terminal. For instance, Local 481 officials found they were negotiating wages, hours, and working conditions for a food butcher who

From icy wastelands in Alaska to the plush surroundings of the San Diego zoo, this furseal seems to enjoy the change of scenery. Feeding the furry creature is Leonard Page who accompanied the expedition during which the seal was captured and took care of the catch on the return to the zoo.









The complicated process of moving giraffes to new enclosures is filmed for television presentation in other cities over a program called Zoo-rama.

kills and prepares horses, gourmet style, for the animals. He's one butcher-cook whose diners all prefer their meat rare.

Also to be represented are animal trainers, gardeners, fry cooks, hospital keepers, sign painters, vending machine repairmen, auto mechanics, and a bus driver who more nearly fills a traditional Teamster classification.

There is even an animal baby sitter.

Much as Junior would react, this crybaby orangutan gets sympathy—following discipline—from Jean Hock, member of Teamster Local 481 and supervisor of attendants at the Children's zoo in San Diego.



She prepares formula for baby animals and generally changes diapers in the children's zoo, which is a zoo within a zoo in San Diego.

Work hazards? There are plenty. Last year a black panther named Jet attacked and killed his keeper. But more typical are such dangers as ape bites which seldom prove to be serious.

Overall, Teamster zoo workers boast about the 4500 animals, birds and reptiles as being the finest collection of zoo inhabitants in the world. San Diego's pleasant climate is ideal, making zooing a year-around attraction and permits such extras as the world's highest flight cage in which gorgeous birds flit through tropical plants.

Only one other zoo in the world boasts of a Koala, the original Australian Teddy Bear, and the only kiwi bird outside New Zealand receives TLC (tender loving care) from San Diego Teamsters.

The children's zoo, a zoo within a zoo, is built on a scale commensurate with the world of a four-year-old child. It is populated with animals that the young visitor can cuddle such as the baby hyenas, or ride, like the giant Galapagos tortoise.

The 250 animals in the children's zoo must be treated exactly like human kids. For that reason, young women—mostly college girls—are employed to provide a kind of mother love which baby animals need as desperately as Junior.

Teamsters at the zoo report that the hand-raised animals resemble Junior in many ways, but fortunately, like Junior, these animals react favorably to a swat on the lower posterior.

More than two and one-half million visitors viewed the animals in the San Diego zoo last year, and knowingly or unknowingly, they were in agreement that Teamsters make excellent zoo keepers as well as truck drivers and warehousemen.

Too, excellence seems to permeate the entire operation, as the zoo employees are secure in their jobs under a Teamster negotiated contract.

Lumber Drivers Pact

An agreement ending a 2-week strike of lumber drivers in the San Francisco-Oakland area was reached after a 31-hour marathon bargaining session.

Members of Teamster Locals 85, 287, and 315 ratified the contract calling for a wage increase each of the 3 years in the agreement, along with an increase in Health and Welfare premiums to equal the area pattern. The increase will go toward a dental and eye care plan.

The strike involved more than 2,000 drivers employed by lumber yards and cabinet shops in the bay area. Gaining also from the contract will be about the same number of drivers working in shops that are not members of the Lumber and Mill Employers Assn.

Other new benefits in the pact brought a 75 per cent uniformity in the bay area contracts.

Colorado Locals Win Three NLRB Votes

Three Teamster local unions affiliated with Jt. Council No. 54, in Denver, Colo., have scored victories in NLRB representation elections. Local 435 won bargaining rights for employees of Western Commission Co. Local 219 was chosen bargaining agent by employees at the Colorado Potato Growers Exchange in Montrose. Local 961 was selected to represent members employed by Groendyke Transport, Inc.



Lyndon B. Johnson

"Let welfare be a private concern. Let it be promoted by individuals and families, by churches and private hospitals, religious service organizations, community charities and other institutions that have been established for this purpose."

—Barry Goldwater in his book, The Conscience of a Conservative.

"This country is not going to turn away from the needs of the jobless and hungry, the poor, and the oppressed."—
President Lyndon B. Johnson, Labor Day, 1964, Cadillac Square, Detroit.



Barry Goldwater

Social Welfare ProgramsAt the Crossroads

EDITOR'S NOTE: The following article deals with the history of and the politics involved in the development of social welfare in this nation. It is presented here because of the extremely divergent views on the subject held by the two major Presidential candidates.

DEFINED BY the United Nations as "organized activity that aims toward a mutual adjustment of individuals and their social environment," social welfare in America today is much in the position of Cinderella dreaming of going to the prince's ball: Everybody else has golden slippers.

Just as the Great Depression of the 1930's found the social welfare provisions of the United States wholly inadequate to cope with the needs of millions of unemployed men and women, so today does the same condition exist with respect to the ravages of technical progress.

A new condition of hopelessness exists for unemployed Americans. Automation has shunted them from gainful employment or it has kept them from entering or reentering the work force.

The land of abundance now has an ample supply of helplessness, too.

A phalanx of federal relief plans helped bring the country out of its social despair in the late 1930's and 1940's. But today's economic repression of individual pursuit of health, wealth, and happiness has yet to produce much more than the shadow of a fairy godmother.

There have been food stamp programs, manpower retraining programs of a token size, and now the beginnings of an anti-poverty war. There is a multitude of private and public agencies providing mostly stop-gap

aid. Nearly all are narrow and relatively ineffective in the face of the new confrontation.

Many people believe something more is needed—like a rekindling of compassion for the suffering translated into terms of real help for thousands of destitute families.

Numerous social work leaders have expressed this sentiment in recent months. Perhaps one of the best-voiced pleas was made by James R. Dumpson, New York City's commissioner of welfare, at a Maryland conference.

He discussed extensively the "swift development" of technological automation on the nation's work force and emphasized the scores of problems which he declared need solution. Then he offered some answers.

"First," said Dumpson, "I suggest we seek to create a climate of opinion that accepts that there are adults in today's society who are not going to be economically productive in the foreseeable future and maybe never at all.

"These are workers rendered obsolete because of the lag in our income and work distribution, the lag in our educational processes that makes it absolutely impossible for these workers to meet entry requirements of labor. We must consider whether our concept of work as being chiefly related to economic values is still valid. These are individuals who have become the dropouts of our economic system.

"I say that we must accept this and then accept the corollary—that provisions must be established for their care and use and that these provisions must be paid for out of the productivity of our economic system.

"If we can secure acceptance of this, then we will be able to move more quickly and constructively in the development of programs and tools that truly individualize the help we make available."

The Means Test

Dumpson continued with his suggestions:

"Second, let's begin to question publicly whether by national policy, welfare should be called upon to strip people of their last vestige of dignity before they are entitled to help they need. In short, we might well explore whether, in our present socio-economic environment, we have not outlived the means test as a cornerstone of welfare operations . . ."

Dumpson said:

"Third—and really a part of my second proposition—as we recognize the impact of automation on people, maybe we now should abandon setting people off, welfare recipients and non-welfare recipients, in the development of human services.

"I am convinced that social welfare services—including health, education, and vocational training—are basic supports for all people and can no longer be geared to financial dependency. They are a concommitant of a technologically automated society." He concluded:

"Special training, literacy, education, retraining efforts geared to and a condition of eligibility for basic human services for people who happen to be in financial need may better be replaced by a revolutionary, integrated, educational and training program, national in scope and federally supported for people whose total pattern of living may well be quite different from anything we have known..."

As welfare commissioner of the largest city in the nation, Dumpson's words carried weight. If anyone in the land has had occasion to see misery most intense, he has.

None could argue with Dumpson's point that a new pattern of living is developing in the United States. It is a pattern, many feel, that fails to provide for a large, lost segment of the population—a mass that lives in what has come to be called the "Other America."

While offering his ideas, however, Dumpson was fully aware of the battle that has to be fought to revise our loose system of social welfare. Still to be overcome are what he labeled archaic notions which existed long before such services moved from agrarian to industrial economies.

The early history of social welfare centered on the poor law and the pri-

vate charities and foundations which supplemented it.

There are politicians, economists, social leaders, and even religious leaders who still believe that social welfare services carry negative implications—a hangover from earlier centuries. They believe such services should prevent epidemics of disease, protect the population against begging and thievery, and appease the lower classes so as to prevent civil disorder.

From the beginning, social welfare services were handicapped by a pair of concepts which still endure in the minds of many:

1—That government should avoid to the greatest extent possible any interference with the economy or social relationships.

2—That all is well with the economic and social organization and that any poverty or social maladjustment can be attributed to inherent inadequacies or moral infirmities of the individuals concerned.

Such views spring from the *laissez-faire* principle of government—that is, live and let live.

An individual was free to choose a path leading to poverty instead of wealth; to change his course was to violate natural law and endanger the general welfare. This idea went handin-glove with the notion that suffering by some must be endured so that the

Teamster's Scout Honored



Scoutmaster Daniel J. Tortorello (second from right), who serves Teamster Local 945 in Clifton, N. J., as secretary-treasurer, proudly surveys one of his troop's youngsters being cited by Hugh J. Addonizio (center), mayor of Newark, N. J. The mayor proclaimed a "day" in honor of Michael Cuozzo, Jr. (second from left), one of only nine Scouts in the entire nation to earn the rare award of 105 merit badges. Looking on proudly are the boy's mother and father.

welfare of the many might be achieved.

Most of these attitudes had their origin in class-conscious England long ago. A writer named Townsend, in 1786, considered any aid given to the poor as encouraging them to increase their numbers and so to diminish the subsistence available to the rest of the population.

A famous economist named David Ricardo asserted that a "wage fund" would make it impossible to improve the condition of the laboring classes.

Herbert Spencer, writing in the last half of the 19th century, said that men who advocated social welfare measures were "blind to the fact that under the natural order of things society is constantly excreting its unhealthy, imbecile, slow, vacillating, faithless members."

Spencer's commentary echoed the thoughts of men decades before him. Such views were brought from England by the early colonists. They also brought the 17th century poor law which emphasized local responsibility.

The colonies were a harsh, new

LBJ-HHH Endorsed by Calif. Teamsters

California Teamster Unions have pledged to work for the election of President Johnson and his running-mate, Hubert Humphrey.

The move marked the first endorsement of a Presidential candidate by California Teamsters in 20 years.

More than 200 California Teamster local union officials attended the political session in Los Angeles, which was presided over by IBT Vice President Joseph Diviny who chaired the meeting in his capacity as California Legislative Council President.

The delegates also voted to oppose a proposition which would repeal California's Fair Housing Act, voted to oppose a measure designed to ban pay-television in the state (pay-TV would provide countless jobs for Teamsters in the state), and recommended that voters defeat a proposition which would establish a state-wide lottery.

Delegates were generally agreed that the Johnson-Humphrey ticket is no shoo-in in California. They agreed that an all-out effort is needed in the state to defeat Senator Barry Goldwater, advocate of a national "right-to-work" law. world. It took hard work and sacrifice to exist. Perhaps because of this as much as any other reason, cruel attitudes were assumed toward those unable to support themselves. Settlement laws were designed to protect the localities from being burdened by paupers; it was a period that might easily have originated the "bum's rush."

All poor people—whether physically or mentally incapacitated—were treated alike in the colonies. In the early years of the past century, the almshouse—later to become famous as the "poorhouse"—grew common. The poorhouse was considered the best method of getting those in need out of sight. Many states made county or township poorhouse care mandatory.

An unusual crusade begun in 1841 by Dorothea Dix had a far-reaching effect on future social welfare policies in the United States.

She successfully managed to get many states to establish hospitals for the insane. But after she persuaded Congress to pass a bill granting public lands to the states for the care of the insane, President Franklin Pierce vetoed the measure.

Modern Social Welfare

Pierce complained that such a grant would create the principle of federal responsibility for "all the poor in all the states." His veto was to hold back federal aid to the states for social welfare nearly 80 years.

Pierce's action, of course, cemented the prevailing notion that voluntary social welfare—that is, philanthropy—was the only kind of service that should be permitted within the framework of *laissez-faire* government.

Philanthropy separated the "worthy" from the "unworthy," however, and gradually charity organizations began to emerge to help the unworthy.

The beginnings of modern social welfare service did not appear until the industrial revolution was full-blown. As the new technology swept the major industrial centers of England and then the United States, leaving thousands of jobless workers in its wake, a new attitude developed.

Working people stopped believing the fairy tales.

They began to believe that an economic system that brought them hardship and suffering was not what nature intended or sanctioned. The forefathers were wrong.

Accident-Free Driver



J. P. McDonald, a long-time member of Teamster Local 984 in Memphis, Tenn., has hauled autos more than one million miles without an accident. McDonald, 45, has been driving a truck since he was 16. Besides being a skilled driver, he is also a DRIVE watch winner and a leader in the Local's DRIVE program.

The unemployed were experiencing poverty that could not be attributed to their personal incompetencies but rather to economic conditions beyond their control. Today's advocates of social welfare declare the same situation exists today.

People began to think that the evil of government intervention was much less serious than the evils of free competition by which other men grew rich through monopoly.

It was in this period that the labor movement got its first solid foothold. For the first time, also, small businessmen began to fight for tariff protections and anti-monopolistic legislation

There began to be rumblings.

There was fear of bloody revolution as socialists, communists, and anarchists harped on the poverty that was being revealed daily by improved means of communication.

The spread of literacy helped to expose still further the ugly facts of poverty and suffering.

Recurrent business depressions raised doubts about the strength of the economic and social system.

Hearing the call, reformers encouraged by Dorothea Dix and others like her hove onto the horizon.

The result was a surge of change

at the turn of the century. Workmen's compensation, child welfare, medical programs, and other services —including the future giant-sized community charities—came into being.

Then came World War I. It stopped social welfare development cold. There was not a reawakening until the Great Depression of the 1930's when one-fourth of the work force was idle in the United States.

The depression was a shocker. At the time, poor relief still was almost entirely locally administered and financed. The country was broke and so was nearly everybody in it; none could get help because none could give help.

Townships turned to the counties and the counties turned to the states for aid. Several solvent states passed temporary relief laws. Then Congress approved the Federal Emergency Relief and Construction Act in 1932; it had taken a long time to overcome the precedent of President Pierce's veto affecting aid to the poor.

A small but militant and hungry labor movement was one of the forces that encouraged Franklin D. Roosevelt to seek enactment of a wide assortment of social welfare legislation at the federal level.

The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) provided work camp employment for 3,000,000 wandering young men, and a \$3 billion federal relief program made grants to states for both work relief and direct relief.

PWA-WPA

It was the latter program that promoted the principle that public funds must be administered by public agencies. It also prompted relief payments in cash rather than in kind.

Other programs included the famous Public Works Administration and later the Works Progress Administration which stimulated the economy with large construction projects, particularly new schools and post offices.

Finally, the Social Security Act was passed and enacted into law on Aug. 14, 1935, declaring, in effect, that the federal government was responsible for the welfare of all citizens. President Pierce was repudiated.

The Social Security Act helped far more numbers of people than it angered, its advocates declare.

It established a national contributory old-age retirement annuity system for workers in industry and commerce.

22

Correction

A recent announcement in the International Teamster listed Local 635, Pittsburgh, Pa., as a party to the recent National agreement with the Kroger Company. Local 635 operates under a separate agreement with the Kroger Pittsburgh operation, a contract which does not expire until October 1, 1965.

It laid the basis for a nationwide system of insurance to protect people against the risks of short-term unemployment.

It provided for federal grants-in-aid to the states for old-age assistance, aid to the blind, aid to dependent children, and for maternal and child health services, child welfare services,

Other important laws followed with

services for crippled children, and vocational rehabilitation.

Since 1935, most social welfare developments in the United States have involved extensions or improvements of the Social Security Act.

Other important laws followed with one of the most significant being the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938. It defined national standards for wages, hours, working conditions and child labor applicable to firms dealing in interstate commerce.

Through all this period, unemployment insurance and workmen's compensation programs floated aimlessly like rafts at sea.

In the case of unemployment insurance, the federal government had imposed no standards as to the amount and duration of benefits. Workmen's compensation remained a matter of state-controlled plans with a complete lack of standardization.

As the years passed, there were still

Heart Research Helped



Teamster Local 251's annual picnic at a state park near Providence, R. I., for some 5,000 members and their families recently served also as a vehicle for contributions to the "Jimmy Fund"—well-known throughout New England for aiding heart disease research at a children's hospital in Boston. An auction of autographed sports equipment held by Warwick, R. I., police officials resulted in a total of \$677.75 being netted for the fund. Shown with some of the items bid upon by the Teamsters are (left to right): Warwick Police Chief Joseph Gallucci, Local 251 Secretary-Treasurer Alexander Hylek, and Police Cmdr. Ernest T. Brown who served as auctioneer.

unemployed people badly in need but ineligible for any of the federallyaided programs. They depended upon general aid or poor relief which still was locally administered and financed in most states.

In 1956, Congress declared that a major purpose of public assistance administration is to promote the wellbeing of the nation by encouraging the states to place greater emphasis on helping to strengthen family life, by helping needy families and individuals attain the maximum economic and personal independence of which they are capable.

But Congress stopped there. It refused to set a standard of what constitutes a national minimum for health and decency—this at a time when automation was beginning to streak across the sky of American industry.

States continued to maintain varying social welfare policies. Mississippi, in 1960 for instance, thought \$30 a month was enough for old-age assistance, while Connecticut gave more than \$100 a month. States assessed differently the responsibility of relatives, the value of life insurance, cash reserves, and the ownership of real property.

Private funding groups about this

time began to attract attention more for their huge expenditures in collection campaigns and administration than for the good they were able to do.

Charities had reached such refinement that they often worked at cross purposes. They were sectarian or non-sectarian. They specialized in child welfare, mental health, home nursing, and a variety of recreation and group work agencies. For the most part, they depended upon public donation. And often, their services were coordinated by a community council of social agencies preoccupied with gasping for air in a closet full of red tape.

More frequently than not, their services were discriminatory or hampered by real or imagined boundaries drawn up to satisfy the community's understanding of "needy" or "worthy."

Back in 1941, the Atlantic Charter proclaimed the intention of democratic nations to abolish poverty and establish freedom from want. The member countries were goaded by a fear that another prolonged depression might lead to the destruction of democracy and submersion of the free enterprise system.

Yet in the United States today many of those who favored the Atlantic Charter proclamation are against ex-



panding the role of government in the area of social welfare..

They did not foresee in 1941 today's onslaught of technological progress. There are millions of individuals and families who cannot qualify for one of the federally-aided categories of public assistance. Or, if they qualify, the aid is minimal.

Instead, the hungry unemployed must resort to general assistance which is administered in most states on a local basis in much the same manner as the poor law operated in the 19th century. Liberals declare this is degrading and worse, ineffective.

Lines Are Drawn

So the 1964 Presidential election might well be remembered as the year when the scales were tipped in favor of proposals such as those of Welfare Commissioner James Dumpson, or as the year when the federal government reverted to "live and let live" which is the theme of survival of the fittest capitalism.

Certainly the lines are drawn with Senator Barry Goldwater declaring for Republican policy:

"Let welfare be a private concern. Let it be promoted by individuals and families, by churches and private hospitals, religious service organizations, community charities and other institutions that have been established for this purpose;"—

And Lyndon B. Johnson speaking out for the Democrats by saying:

"This country is not going to turn away from the needs of the jobless and hungry, the poor, and the oppressed."

Fund Buys Israel Bonds



The Health and Welfare Fund and Pension Fund of Teamster Local 453 in Cumberland, Md., recently purchased \$50,000 in State of Israel Bonds. Shown during the check presentation at a dinner ceremony are (left to right): William Portnoy, Pittsburgh manager for State of Israel Bonds; C. E. Stutzman, Local 453 business manager, and Judge Samuel A. Weiss, chairman of the Pittsburgh Labor Committee for Israel Bonds.

Man with a Hoe, 1964

by Paul Jacobs

EDITOR'S NOTE: The following article is reprinted from Commentary magazine. Copyright 1964 by the American Jewish Committee. It is reprinted here in line with the International Teamster's policy of putting emphasis on the plight of the nation's unemployed and under-employed.

THE PARK on the border of the L Skid Row area in this California farm town is filled with men (and one or two women) sprawled out on the grass or sitting under the few trees. Some of them are sleeping, their mouths open, their stubbled faces pressed into the ground; others are merely staring off into space. Here and there a bottle is being passed around a group, each man taking a deep swig before handing it on to the next. I count about a hundred of these nearderelicts from where I sit on a bench at the edge of the park. Later, as I walk by, they look at me incuriously. No one hails me as "Sir," and no one tries to make a touch. In my dirty pants, torn sweatshirt, and straw workhat, an old beachbag in my hand, I look like just another farm worker living on Skid Row.

On my way through the park to find a cheap hotel or flophouse for a few nights, the eyeglass case I have in my shirt pocket begins to feel uncomfortable, so I stop to take it out and put it into the bag. As I do I am struck by the fact that very few of these people in the park seem to wear glasses; in fact, I can spot only three who are either wearing glasses or have eyeglass cases in their pockets. And yet, nearly everyone in the park is in the age group that would normally need glasses.

Just on the outskirts of the Skid Row area, I find a hotel where I can get a room for \$2.00 a night. Most day-haul farm workers would spend only a dollar, or at most \$1.50, but I have learned how terribly depressed I get in the dirty, gray flophouses that are the only homes so many farm

workers know. Skid Row not only houses bums, outcasts, and voluntary exiles from society, but blurs at the edges to take in the old and the poor as well. For where else can a badly paid worker find a place to sleep for \$2.00 or less?

I pay the \$2.00 in advance—all rent in such "hotels" is paid in advance, either by the day, the week, or the month—and take the key to the room in which I will be staying for the next few days before going on to spend a couple of weeks in a migrant workers' camp in the San Joaquin Valley. The room is about what I expect: peeling walls, a window with a tattered shade overlooking a dark airshaft, a broken bureau with a plastic doily on top, one

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wooden chair, a closet built into a corner, and overhead, a light bulb swinging on a chain. There is no lamp by the bed—who reads in such a room at night?

My next stop is the farm labor office on the other side of the Skid Row area. Walking down a street past tong houses, Chinese shops and restaurants, Filipino barber shops and social clubs, and Mexican bars, I notice a small store with the word "Shoeshine" crudely lettered across the window. Obviously, though, it isn't shines the three gaudily dressed Mexican women inside are selling. One of them catches my eye as I go by and shouts, "Hey, sport, come on in!"-waving her arm to show me the curtained recess at the back. Such girls service the Skid Row community, including fringe groups like the Filipinos. The most skilled of all the farm workers in Skid Rowthey generally harvest asparagus, brussels sprouts, and the early grape crop -many of these Filipinos have been in the area for more than twenty years without their families, and these women represent their only sexual contacts. Because they have no wives and the law once prohibited intermarriage, the Filipinos reportedly suffer from a high rate of venereal disease. Yet they tend to be neater and cleaner than their neighbors on Skid Row, and when they dress up in their big-brimmed hats, wide-seated pants, and heavily padded jackets, they remind one of sporty gangsters in a 1930's movie.

First Names

It is early afternoon by now, and the farm labor office-whose hours are from 5:00 A.M. to 2:00 P.M.is very quiet. Two men are sitting behind a counter (there are no chairs or benches on my side of the counter). I announce that I want to register for farm work, and wait while one of them checks to see if I have registered before at this office. Satisfied that my name isn't listed in any of his files, he motions me behind the counter to his partner's desk. "Can I see your social security card?" the man at the desk says. I take out my wallet, now thin and flabby without the thick bundle of credit cards I've left back home in San Francisco, and show him the social security card.

"Were you in the Army, Paul?" He uses my first name as a matter of course, even though I am at least ten years older than he is and he has never seen me before. I say that I was, giving him the little photostat of my

Army discharge I carry with me on these trips. Then he asks me what kind of farm work I've done, and I tell enough of the right lies to get a green card from him with my new occupational title printed on it: "Farm hand, general."

"Is there much work?" I ask. "No," he answers, "the asparagus is about finished, but if you'll do stoop labor, you can work until the freeze in the fall. Be here tomorrow morning at 5:00 A.M. to get on the bus."

For the rest of the afternoon and evening, I walk around Skid Row, going from one dingy card room to another, where \$2.00 will get you into a game of draw poker, lowball poker, or pan. The games are run by the house, which takes a chip from each pot in exchange for supplying the chairs and tables and a man to keep an eye on the betting. As for the players, they are a mixed group of Mexicans, Filipinos, whites, and Negroes; and there are even a few young fellows who look as though they go to college and just come down to Skid Row for the cards.

I eat my dinner in one of the many grimy restaurants in the neighborhood.

The floor is littered with napkins, the counter is greasy, and sugar is spilled around the rack holding the condiments. A pleasant Mexican waitress serves me watery tomato rice soup, fatty lamb stew with potatoes and rice, diced beets, and one slice of canned pineapple. The meal costs eighty-five cents, and I buy a nickel cigar on my way out. Again I wander the streets, indistinguishable from the other men shifting a frayed toothpick around in their mouths.

It is nightfall now. Skid Row is crowded; the bars are jammed with beer and sweet-wine drinkers; the drunks stagger into the street and collapse in the alleys. For many of these men, Skid Row is the end point of some personal tragedy—perhaps a divorce, or alcoholism, or unexpected unemployment. Then the police cars make their appearance. They cruise slowly around the area, circling it like keepers in a zoo. One of them pulls up to the corner where I'm standing talking with three asparagus cutters, and the officer behind the wheel looks over at me. "Hello, there," he says. As I return the greeting, I notice him remarking to his partner, "That's a

Auto Salesman Retires



Shown at the presentation of the first pension check given to an automobile salesman from Teamster Local 868 in New York City are (left to right): Frank Micali, trustee of Local 868; Alan Grossman, employer trustee of the Local 868 Pension Fund; Leonard Shifrin, Local 868 vice president; John J. O'Rourke, International Vice President and secretary-treasurer of Local 868; John T. Burke, president of Local 868; Donald J. Bruckner, Local 868 recording secretary; Joseph Dreyfuss, pensioner; John Echezuria and Joseph Bergen, trustees of Local 868.

new face around here." He will keep my face in mind—just in case.

Back at the hotel three very old men and one middle-aged farm worker are sitting in a row in the lobby, dozing intermittently through a re-run of an "I Love Lucy" show on TV. I watch too for a while and then walk upstairs to my room. It is hot and stuffy. Undressing, I wonder what the temperature in the room gets to be during the summer when the valley becomes a furnace, made habitable for most of its residents only by air-conditioners.

THE WORK DAY begins at night. At 4:00 A.M., wakened by the body noises of the man in the next room, I struggle out of my narrow, lumpy bed. As I wash, I can hear him washing; I brush my teeth, but he doesn't; and neither of us shaves. Outside it's still dark. In my dirty work clothes, I eat breakfast—a "short stack with bacon"—at the counter of a nearby all-night restaurant. After finishing the heavy pancakes soaked in thick syrup and drinking two mugs of coffee, I buy a box lunch from the Chinaman at the cash register to take with me out to the fields. For fiftyfive cents I get three sandwiches of dry, thinly sliced roast beef with a

piece of lettuce on soggy white bread, an orange, and a small Danish pastry.

Outside, crowds of men are heading toward the farm labor office where the contractors' buses pull in to pick up their loads of day-haul workers. In the office, under a sign that says, "Do not spit, sit, or lie on the floor," I line up with about twenty-five other men, moving slowly toward the desk at which work is being assigned. Everybody is wearing some kind of hat or cap for protection against the hot sun, and the soiled, ragged clothes which are the day laborer's uniform and stigma. In my hand, I hold the green registration card that will get me on the bus if there is work to be had. The only jobs listed on the board today are cutting asparagus, and shorthandled hoe work on tomatoes or beets. Asparagus is cut by crews and is a comparatively skilled job-much more desirable than such stoop labor as hoe work. But I've never done any asparagus cutting and so I have to take tomatoes or beets.

"Don't send anybody in who won't work short-handle hoe!" one of the three men behind the counter of the employment office shouts angrily after one of the workers has refused the job. Because short-handle hoe work is back-breaking and pays badly, there is often difficulty in finding enough men to fill the contractors' quotas.

"Beets or tomatoes, Paul?" asks the young man at the desk. I choose tomatoes, even though they pay only \$1.00 an hour as against \$1.10 for beets. But beets, I know, are much harder to work.

By 5:15 A.M. the big yard next door is jammed with men waiting to be assigned to a contractor's bus. Only one or two of the huge California farms do their hiring directly; most of the others deal with the labor contractors who set a flat price for supplying the workers to handle a particular job. The contractor then pays the workers out of this flat fee, naturally keeping enough for himself to make a profit. Some of the contractors are decent employers, but some are known as chiselers, to be avoided if at all possible. Even so, the difference between the best and the worst is only a matter of small degree; most farm workers are subjected to conditions long banished from modern industry.

Contractor Clients

More than half the men in the loading yard are Mexicans. Somehow, their Spanish sounds more educated than the English of the whites and Negroes greeting their friends and talking about how they made out yesterday. One slightly tipsy Negro is jumping around playing a guitar very badly; the more everyone ignores him, the harder he strives to get their attention. The asparagus crews are the first to be assigned to buses; they all have cheap plastic goggles on their hats which they will later use to keep the heavy dust out of their eyes. Finally, from the back end of the yard I see a contractor coming for my group. He is recognizable immediately by his baseball cap, his leather jacket, his boots and, most of all, his assured manner. He stops to kibitz a bit with the man from the employment office, and it becomes obvious that the relationship between them is much different from the one each of them has with us. Even though we farm workers are formally the clients of the state employment service, the real clients are the contractors, for they are permanent while we are only temporary; we are dependent upon both of them; and besides, they are social equals and we are their social inferiors. It is to the contractor, who needs it least, and not to the worker, who needs it most, that the state gives

Roadeo Champs



Champions in the recent Minnesota Truck Roadeo in Minneapolis are shown with their trophies. Left to right, Lewis Blanchard, Dahllen Transport, Local 975, St. Paul, tank truck division. Don Beaudette, Local 471, Minneapolis, Land O'Lakes Creameries, 5-axle semi. Harlan Krohan, Local 471, Land O'Lakes Creameries, 3-axle semi. Dean Gobel, Local 544, United Buckingham, Minneapolis, straight truck driving division. These winners will go to Louisville, Ky., this Fall to compete for the national titles.

the benefit of its publicly supported employment service: the state is the instrument that provides the contractors with a good income and the growers with a pool of extremely cheap labor.

WE BOARD an old bus, painted blue, with the name of the contractor stenciled on the outside. In front of me, two Mexicans are chatting in Spanish, and across from them another Mexican sits alone. There are also eight other men in the bus-three Negroes and five whites, including myself. We sit and doze in the chill dark air, and then, at 6:00 A.M., when the buses in front of us start leaving the lot, our driver, who is Mexican, comes back with six more workers—three young white men, a Negro, and two Mexicans. Only one of the group, I notice, is wearing glasses. A few minutes later, we swing out of the lot and drive out on the highway.

Barreling Along

By this time it is daylight and I can see the interior of the bus more clearly. On the dashboard is stenciled "Speed Limit 45 MPH," the maximum speed the state law allows farm buses to travel. I know these buses are supposed to be inspected by the state, but this one must have had its inspection a long time ago. The rearview mirror is broken in half and the speedometer doesn't work at all. On the floor is a fire extinguisher, but it doesn't appear to be in very good working order either. Next to the driver is a large old-fashioned milk can filled with water. Once we get on the highway, the driver starts speeding, and we go barreling along until the contractor catches up to us in his pickup truck and signals the driver to stop. The driver gets out and I hear the contractor tell him in Spanish to slow down because the police are on the highway.

The driver gets back in the bus and begins going more slowly. But soon he is accelerating again, and in a few minutes we are moving at about the same speed as before. Some thirty-five minutes later, we turn off the highway and drive another three or four miles to a huge field with tomato plants growing in long straight furrows. Leaving our lunches on the seats, we file out of the bus, and the driver hands each of us a brand new hoe, about fifteen inches long with a head that is set back at an angle toward the handle.

In the field waiting for us is the contractor, talking with a stocky Nisei in his early forties. The Nisei tells us, in perfect English, to thin out the plants which are now about three inches high and growing close together. We are to chop out the row, leaving only one or two of the plants in each cluster, nipping off the weeds growing around them, and making sure that there is a space of from four to nine inches between the remaining plants. We station ourselves at every other furrow so that when we get to the end of the field, each of us can come back along the next row.

To chop at the tomato plants with a fifteen-inch hoe requires bending over almost double, and in only a few minutes, the sweat is pouring down my face. I soon fall behind almost all of the workers in the field: the end of the furrow seems a million miles away, and it takes me a half hour to get there. The bus driver, who is now acting as straw boss, keeps an impatient eye on me. He complains that I am not thinning the plants enough, and he tries to show me how to move my feet so that I can stay bent over. But the Nisei foreman tells me to take my time and do the job properly. As I get to the end of the row, the muscles in my back, thighs, and calves ache from the strain. Working my way back on the next furrow, I am acutely conscious of the straw boss watching and checking on me. By now, I am streaming sweat and in agony from the bending over. In the next furrow, an elderly man is working almost as slowly as I am, muttering to himself, "This here work's too hard, this here work's too hard.'



"I said, I'm glad morning comes but once a day."

"You ever done this kind of work before?" I ask him. "Sure," he answers, "I never done nothin' but farm work all my life, but this here's too hard. I'm too old to be bending over like this." Then, as I watch, he opens his pants and begins to urinate, never breaking the rhythm of his work, one hand hoeing, the other holding his organ with the urine dribbling through his fingers and down onto his pants.

And so the day moves on, with the sun rising in the sky and the heat rising in the field. The furrows extend into an eternity of tiny tomato plants and dirt, and the short-handled hoe is an instrument of torture. At last we take a break for lunch, after which a few of the men walk out into the field to defecate, scraps of newspaper stuck in their back pocket. Then hoeing again until shortly before four, when we guit and are driven a few miles to the labor camp, a small group of battered shacks in which crews are housed when they are working by the week. We line up at the contractor's office and are paid eight dollars for the day.

N THE DRIVE back to town the men talk more than they have all day, mostly about which bar serves the best beer for the money. In front of me, there is a discussion of how to beat the blood bank system. Selling blood is a good way to supplement your income. The only problem is that you can't give blood more than once every few months, and the date on which you sell the blood is marked on your fingers in ink that becomes visible under fluorescent light and won't wash off even with strong detergents. But one of the men has discovered that you can erase the ink by rubbing tobacco very, very hard over your fingers for a long time.

A Beer or Two

The bus stops on the street where the farm labor office is located, and we pile out. All around us, buses and trucks are pulling in to discharge their cargoes. Some of the men head for their rooms to wash off the dust and dirt; others make for a bar to get a beer or two first. Then there is the lamb-stew dinner again, and again the walk along the streets, the stopping on corners, the surveillance by the police, and maybe, if a couple of guys get together, the buying of a "jug" to knock off before bed. At 4:00 a.m., the work day will start again.

If you want to and have the strength

to make it, you can go out to the fields six days a week and earn \$48.00. Stoop labor is available in California for eight or nine months of the year, so you might, putting in six days a week, earn up to \$1700-\$600 more than the average wage of a farm worker in 1962. If you get sick, you earn nothing, and when the work season is over, you receive no unemployment insurance. Thus eventually you have to move on to another town, looking for another job which offers exactly the same conditions. And

since you can never save enough to escape from Skid Row, it is easy to slip just a notch or two down to the bum level. At \$1.00 an hour for backbreaking labor performed under the worst physical conditions, what possible incentive is there to work?

All this—when the government subsidizes crops and livestock, and when it has been estimated that doubling the wages of stoop labor might increase the retail price of tomatoes by a penny a can or a pound.

One particular type of trailer can be converted to 70 different positions. Exactly the right type of over-theroad specialized equipment must be used to handle the odd-shaped, bulky and valuable cargoes. All kinds of

strengthened, or lightened to meet spe-

cial problems of weight or bulkiness.

rollers, skids, cribbing lines, block and tackle, winches, derricks, and cranes are used to get the loads on and off the trailers.

The trailers must be adaptable to the extent that they can ride close to the ground or use air-ride or spring suspension for delicate cargoes. They include double-drop, tandem units, low-boy trailers for heavy machinery, hi-cube vans for aircraft parts, single and tandem jeep dollies, tandem axle flat bed and tandem axle trailers.

In some instances, a supporting convoy consisting of specially equipped station wagons accompanies the carrier. The units are equipped with warning signs and lights and shortwave radio and telephone equipment to maintain constant contact with the

Occasionally the wagon units also carry an antenna on the bumper to gauge the height to make certain the load that is following can get through an underpass.

turer to launching sites, transfer the equipment to track the missiles, and also the computers to record missile performance.

Some trailers used in transporting sensitive and delicate space-age electronic devices must be built of lightweight aluminum or special steel allovs.

This compares with other types of cargo sometimes carried such as a 525,000-pound electric generator which required 128 wheels under special trailers to distribute the load so there would be no damage to highways.

Giant airplane wings and fuselages, aluminum radar reflectors, a 100-foot, yacht, a battleship propeller, 100-ton bank vault, a 140-ton bridge girder, and once even an entire 4-story factory are among the items that Teamster drivers have moved for the heavyspecialized carriers.

Because of the variety of loads, the trailers are constructed so they can be shortened, lengthened, widened,

Medical Checkups

Safety, of course, is a big factor in the handling of specialized carriers. Hours for driving are rigidly controlled to insure adequate rest and prevent driver fatigue. Drivers constantly study the latest safety methods and undergo periodic medical checkups.

Many cargoes are valued in excess of \$1 million. Some companies carry public liability insurance up to \$5 million. To further insure safety, weather conditions are heeded and special routing is the order of the day in many cases.

Sometime in the future, Teamsters will be driving even greater equipment. Plans already are underway for construction of a supertruck that will carry as much as 80 tons at a speed of 15 miles an hour.

Such a vehicle will be necessary to move giant flight test equipment using nuclear energy and will require trailer units 25 feet wide and 75 feet long.

Whatever the designers come up with, you can bet there will be a skilled, experienced Teamster driver ready to take it down the road.

Teamster Skill Vital Factor In Space Age Heavy Shipments

THERE is a small bloc of Teamsters affiliated with various local unions across the land who drive some of the most imposing equipment on the road.

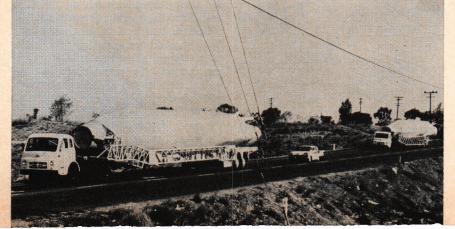
They are the drivers for some 170 companies which belong to the Heavy-Specialized Carriers Conference, a wing of the American Trucking Assns., Inc., with fleets ranging from 10 to 400 giant units capable of transporting just about anything.

Vital to the space age, the drivers handling massive truck trailers and tractors are moving huge cargoes unforeseen 50 years ago.

The rigs move the 90-foot Atlas missile, for example, in its own special cradle called a "transtainer" that is also part of the launching equipment. They also provide a highway transport link in the loading and unloading of such heavy cargoes on railroads, ships, and air freighters.

Besides missiles, the rigs transport other huge components necessary to space age exploration. They move launching towers from the manufac-

Here's an example of Teamster-drive heavy-specialized rigs moving Atlas missiles from California to Florida. The tractor drivers are aided by two driver wheelmen at the rear of the special units.





For Your Information

. . . . DOG FOOD used as a staple by the elderly and poor in Chicago "because it is all they can afford" has been documented by a newspaper in a series on poverty in the Windy City. Paul Ertel, director of the Mayor's Committee on Senior Citizens in Chicago has admitted that many elderly people sustain themselves on cat and dog food "because that's all they can afford." Ertel indicated that the pathetic diet is "enjoyed" by thousands in other major cities, too.

. . . . ONE OF Barry Goldwater's staunchest supporters and contributors to Barry's Presidential campaign fund is Roger Milliken, head of the Deering-Milliken textile firm. Just before Christmas 8 years ago, Milliken closed down his Darlington, N. C., plant and fired everybody because they had voted for the Textile Workers Union in a National Labor Relations Board election.

. . . . ANNUAL INCOME for an estimated 656,000 workers was increased a total of about \$115 million—an average of \$200 each—when the new federal minimum wage scale of \$1.15 an hour went into effect in September. The increase primarily affects workers in retail, service and construction trades. Next year, they will graduate to \$1.25, the hourly minimum already covering some 25 million workers.

.... PROFITS are exceeding fondest dreams of manufacturers this year. The Federal Trade Commission and the Securities Exchange Commission report that after-tax profits in the 2nd quarter this year are up 17% over the mark a year ago—a year-to-year gain of 6%. Manufacturers paid out \$2.6 billion in cash dividends in the second quarter of this year, \$200 million more than in the second quarter of 1963.

. . . . GOVERNMENT snooping on its private citizens stepped clear down to the trash can last month when the wife of a prominent Washington, D. C., attorney complained that trashmen were putting her trash collection in separate containers to be sorted at the trash depot. The woman discovered the snooping when she checked the depot for a misplaced address book. She was told that the depot had four separate bags of her trash, "but we can't release them to you as they are being inventoried."

... A STORY that tells better than anything else how the truck has penetrated the transportation industry in the United States is the story of truck sales. In 1905, truck and bus factory sales totaled 750. Last year the total

was 1,462,708. In 1962 there were 654,000 trucks junked on the scrap heap—more than the entire 1928 production. Global registration of trucks is an estimated 33 million.

- ONE of the problems of overcoming poverty is that it doesn't necessarily hold true that the jobless worker can find gainful employment simply by moving from a depressed area to a prosperous section. A recent Bureau of Labor Statistics study showed that the migration rate for the unemployed is about twice as high as those workers who have jobs. But about one-fourth of the jobless who move are still unemployed a year later.
- JOB-KILLING AUTOMATION is being met head-on in Great Britain. Recent British legislation permits labor-industry boards to collect funds from all employers and to make training grants to those firms that meet board standards. The idea is to induce more firms to conduct training programs and to improve the quality of skill training to meet work force needs.
- MEDICARE is definitely dead for this session of Congress. The plan to provide medical care for the elderly under Social Security went afoul in the House of Representatives after passing in the Senate. The measure was funneled finally to a House-Senate joint committee where the powers are more broad. That leaves the anti-medicare House members of the joint committee in the driver's seat over whether the bill becomes law.
- HELP-WANTED ADVERTISEMENTS in newspapers dropped about 1 per cent in August according to the National Industrial Conference Board. The decline occurred in the nation's 3 biggest cities—New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago. The record high in newspaper help-wanted ads for the 7 years was set last April.
- NEW UNEMPLOYMENT insurance claims dropped 24,700 to 171,000 at mid-September, the lowest volume for any week in nearly 8 years. The major decline—8,600 in California—was attributed to fewer layoffs in seasonal industries. Other big declines were noted in Ohio and Pennsylvania. The only sizable increase in new claims happened in Massachusetts where shoe and apparel plant workers were laid off.
- GASOLINE prices, believe it or not, are the lowest in 15 years—that's if you discount the taxes. Retail prices are averaging 19 cents a gallon before the average 10.3 cents in taxes. Since 1948, state and federal taxes have increased an average of 4 cents a gallon. A mid-continent refiner recently cut its wholesale gasoline price by a half-cent on unbranded gasoline. Three other refiners are reported considering cuts.
- U.S. FAMILIES this year are spending an estimated 18½ per cent of their take-home pay for food. Last year the percentage was 19 and 10 years ago, wage-earners spent more than 24 per cent of their income to feed the family. In parts of Asia and Africa, more than half a wage-earner's income is spent for food.

WHAT'S sert cards. NEW? Flexible

Made of heavy-duty plastic and with an adhesive backing, the holders come supplied with sheets of perforated insert cards.

uct is molded of a self-lubricating plastic that won't jam or stick. It is designed for use on all Ford, Chrysler and General Motors cars.

Time Clock also Dates Correspondence

A new time clock from a Cincinnati manufacturer does double duty as a time stamper for imprinting date and time on incoming correspondence and other papers. Through adjustment of its rollers and chain, the automatic time clock can be adjusted to control signals announcing starting and stopping times. Depending on preference, two models are available that give time in military style and two others that print date and time in European style.

NEW? Flexible Connectors For Filter Lines

Sensing Gauge

surface.

Reveals Icy Road

A kit is now available that permits the installation of flexible connectors for air intake filter lines. The kit contains a pre-sized neoprene connector and two stainless steel clamps and is offered in models for rigid pipe sizes from 6 to 26 inches.

Instant, continuous readings of pos-

sible unseen ice formation on a road

surface in any type of weather or

terrain are given by a sensing gauge

that tests the surrounding weather

conditions electronically while the

vehicle is in motion. Steady signals

are emitted by a transistorized tem-

perature sensor mounted on the bumper grille or frame and when the temperature dips, current is inter-

rupted. A light on the dashboard

flashes and remains on, the frequency

and pattern of the flashes indicating

the exact condition of the road's

Automotive Undercoating

An aerosol for touching up old

undercoatings or applying an entirely

new noise-deadening and corrosion-

resisting coat is being distributed from

Illinois. The new finish of undercoat-

ing delivered by convenient aerosol is

In Aerosol Container

good for an entire winter.

Lens-Hardened Glasses For All Ocassions

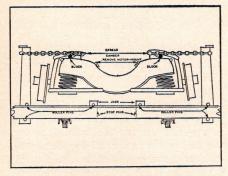




These all-purpose driving and sports glasses are designed with hardened lenses for safety. The basic glasses are prescription ground according to your requirements. One snap-on cover converts them into night driving glasses that eliminate headlight glare and improve vision while driving in a fog. A second snap-on cover is for the sun, removing bright solar rays so you can drive or play without eyestrain and fatigue. The lenses are easily interchangeable.

Carrying a life-time guarantee, they are useful for all sport enthusiasts and professional drivers.

Rolling Stretcher Corrects Camber



The crossmember of a car will not be injured in correcting a camber if a new rolling stretcher correction tool is used. The tool has two free-rolling uprights afloat on roller pins with a hydraulic jack fitted into the center gap. After removal of motor mount bolt, uprights spread the crossmember at the top level; there's no pressure on the bottom center. After correction the camber amount can be shimmed.

Tie-Down Strap with 1200 Lb. Tensile Strength

An Akron firm is offering a tiedown strap for truck tarpaulins that has a tensile strength of 1200 pounds for 7/16 in. outside diameter. Made of solid extruded rubber, the strap has steel hooks adjustable for length. Other sizes are also offered.

No-Screw Attachment Of Label Holders

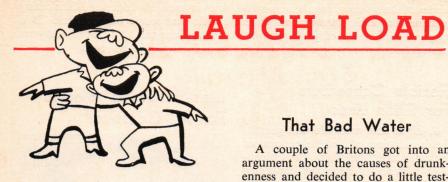
Quick adhesion to any smooth, clean, dry surface is claimed for a new line of press-on label holders.

Plastic Lock Cap Won't Jam or Stick

Unlike many conventional car gas tank lock caps, a new Cleveland prod-

WHAT'S NEW endeavors to keep our readers informed of late developments in fields in which they are interested. Since it is the policy of THE INTERNATIONAL TEAMSTER not to advertise any product, trade names and manufacturers are omitted. Interested readers can obtain names of manufacturers by writing THE INTERNATIONAL TEAMSTER, 810 Rhode Island Ave., N. E., Washington, D. C. 20018

A report on new products and processes on this page in no way constitutes an endorsement or recommendation. All performance claims are based on statements by the manufacturer.



The All-American Boy

A typical American is a fellow who has just driven home from an Italian movie in his German car, is sitting on Danish furniture, drinking Brazilian coffee out of an English china cup, writing a letter on Irish linen paper with Japanese ball point pen-complaining to his congressman about too much American gold going overseas.

The Explanation

There may be nothing new under the sun, but with modern summer fashions there is a lot more of it showing.

The Helping Hand

A real friend never gets in your way—unless you happen to be on the way down.

Multiple Choice Test

Did you hear about the Hollywood youngster who was so proud because he had the most parents at the PTA meeting?

Too Bad

A drunk walked into a bar and shouted to the bartender, "Give me something that's tall, aged and strong as a bull. Make sure it's ice cold."

"'Can't do that pardner," the bartender said.

"Why not?"

"My wife is out of town for the week-end."

That Bad Water

A couple of Britons got into an argument about the causes of drunkenness and decided to do a little testing on themselves. The first night they drank whiskey and water and got drunk. The second night they drank gin and water and got plastered. The third night they drank brandy and water and got ossified. "We conclude," they soberly reported, "that since no matter what you mix it with you still get drunk, it is plain that water is a most pernicious and intoxicating beverage."

Try This One

When a pessimist thinks he's taking a chance, the optimist feels he is grasping an opportunity.

College youth's definition of father: The kin you love to touch.

That Figures

"If your analyst understands you, there must be something wrong with him."

Marking Time?

Men who expect to live to a ripe old age find they must give up about everything that makes them want to.

All Her Own

"Oh, daddy, thank you!" the teenager girl exclaimed. "My own phone! I feel so grown up!"

The father smiled. "Here," he said, handing his daughter an envelope, "this should make you feel even more grown up. Your very own bill."

Mind Your Own Business

A young mother was changing her baby while a four-year-old relative was watching.

When she neglected to sprinkle the baby with powder, the youngster asked:

'Aren't you going to salt him this time?"

Gas Again!

The car stopped suddenly in a dark country lane. "Out of gas," our hero said. The girl friend pulled a flask out of her handbag. "Wow," said he, "What's that? Bourbon?" "No," she retorted, "gasoline."

She's No Lady!

A lady says: "The average man is 36 around the chest, 40 around the waist, 98 around the golf course, and a nuisance around the house."

Triple Entry

An employer was examining an applicant for the job of bookkeeping: "Of course, you understand double entry?"

Applicant: "Oh, sure. The last place I had I kept the books triple entry-one set for the boss, showing the real profits, a second for the shareholders showing no profits, and a third set for the income tax people showing a loss."

That's Progress

Ten years ago the moon was an inspiration to poets and an opportunity for lovers. Ten years from now it will just be another airport.

Filter Tip

Now, they tell us they have discovered a new cigaret with a filter that also contains a tranquilizer. You may still get lung cancer, but you won't give a darn.

Vol. XI

(From the October, 1914, issue of the TEAMSTER)

Number 10

roprespondence

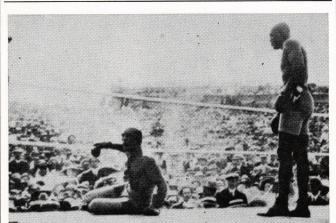
There were seven letters from seven locals addressed to President Tobin that appeared in this issue of the October, 1914 Jour-NAT.

A correspondent from Los Angeles reported on conditions in his city. Sad to say, he writes that some members from other areas are coming into the city, not signing with the local and taking team jobs for anything the employer will pay them. If they find another job in another city, that pays better, then they move on.

There were reports on local union participation in Labor Day parades held last month. The members of Cincinnati Local 100 turned out in force, wearing olive-green shirts with white neckties and monthly working buttons pinned on blue serge caps. Scranton, Pa., Local 229 marched for the first time in a Labor Day parade and took second prize for having the next largest number in the parade, 310. Pretty good for the first time out.

The over-riding thought on the minds of most of our correspondents is the great war raging in Europe.

Fairness of Industrial Relations Commission Cited by Trade Unions



Powerful Negro heavyweight Jack Johnson (6'-1", 220) stands over crumbling Jim Jeffries at title fight in Reno, July 4, 1910. Johnson won the crown after this 15th-round knockout of Jeffries. Johnson then lost crown to Jess Willard after a jarring 26-round battle in Havana, Cuba, April 5, 1915. Johnson, whose fighting career spanned nearly three decades, was picked as the all-time heavyweight by Nat Fleischer. The first Negro heavyweight champion, Johnson was killed in an auto accident in 1946 at the age of 68.

Anti-Injunction Bill Passed By Massachusetts

With the signing of the anti-| sweeping aside the dictum that injunction bill by Massachusetts Governor Walsh, the Bay State became the first to place in its code democratic ideals relative to personal rights.

State Senator Sheehan, who backed the measure from its inception, stated during debate on the anti-injunction bill, that organized labor "is only asking in this bill the right it supposed its members always had in this State-freedom of speech and right to lawful assembly."

The theory behind the bill is that property rights are not supreme and it further draws a clear line between workers and the products of their labor,

one man has a property right in another's service.

This is the first time a State has taken this position, which is most significant, as it indicates the mighty mental changes men are undergoing, and clearly indicates a gradual abandonment of all feudalistic, slave-holding and serfdom theories that have filtered through the ages and have served to stamp the brand of ownership, even though dimly, on the brow of those who toil.

The long list of injunctions, issued only in times of strike, bear testimony to the abuses "I confess without shame

that I am tired and sick of war.

Its glory is all moonshine. Even success the most brilliant is over dead and mangled bodies, the anguish and lamentations of distant families appealing to me for missing sons, husbands and fathers. It is only those who have not heard a shot nor heard the shrieks and groans of the wounded and lacerated that cry aloud for more blood, more vengeance, more desolation. War is Hell."

heaped on the men of labor by those who have disregarded every constitutional guaranty.

Massachusetts has made legislative history in its declaration for personal liberty.

Obligations Of Employer, Employe Outlined By Walsh

"One of the ideas that the commission must attack most vigorously is the notion that an employer is only an employer and that organized labor is just a powerful, fighting organization.

With these words, Mr. F. P. Walsh, chairman of the Industrial Relations Commission, painted a picture of hope that a new era of labor-management harmony may be appearing on the horizon.

In hearings before his committee, Mr. Walsh has stated that "there must be a readjustment of mental attitudes." Walsh believes that if every employer could get labor's point of view and vice versa, constructive remedies would be able to take care of themselves. Speaking recently along this line, he said:

"Organized labor consists of several millions of men, women and children-interesting, hopeful, appealing human beings, banded together in an attempt to improve their lot. And an employer is not just a pursuer of profits. He also is a human being.

"If the directors of a large corporation that was fighting a union during a strike could visit the assembly halls of the union and see there the families gathered together, could witness the sacrifices and heroisms and the fellowship, they would cease being directors and become just men, and they would understand the strike as never before."

